

Message Text

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TO THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, KS, KN

SUBJECT: KOREA IN THE UNGA

1. OUR RESOLUTION ON KOREA WAS APPROVED IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FIRST COMMITTEE BY A VOTE OF 59 TO 51. THE HOSTILE RESOLUTION CALLED ON US TO GET OUT OF KOREA WITH NO FURTHER ADO AND WAS SUBSEQUENTLY PASSED BY A MARGIN OF 13 VOTES (51 TO 38). THE COMMITTEE DECISIONS WILL NOW BE REFERRED TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR FINAL DISPOSITION. THIS IS SUPPOSED TO TAKE PLACE SOME WEEKS FROM NOW, BUT MAY OCCUR AS EARLY AS THE FIRST WEEK OF NOVEMBER. (SECRETARIAT ESTIMATE RANGES FROM NOV. 6 TO 19, DEPENDENT ON OTHER ITEMS.) AT THE MOMENT THE CURRENT IS RUNNING AGAINST US AND WE FACE THE VERY REAL POSSIBILITY THAT OUR RESOLUTION MIGHT ACTUALLY BE DEFEATED AND THE HOSTILE ONE PASS. THE NORTH KOREANS SEEM NOT AT ALL INCLINED TO RESPOND TO SWEDISH ASEAN EFFORTS AT COMPROMISE AND HAVE BEGUN TO LOBBY FOR THE DEFEAT OF OUR RESOLUTION. EVEN SO, EFFORTS AT COMPROMISE ARE CONTINUING. WE CANNOT AT THIS STAGE COUNT ON AN ACCEPTABLE RESULT FROM THESE EFFORTS.

2. WE ARE AWARE THAT IN THE REAL WORLD THESE ARE MERELY STRAW VOTES, AND THAT GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECISIONS WILL NOT AFFECT THE DISPOSITION OF OUR FORCES IN KOREA. THEY COULD, HOWEVER, OBLIGE US TO GIVE UP THE UN MANTLE ON TERMS OTHER THAN OUR OWN.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 USUN N 05531 010011Z

3. WHAT CONCERNS US FAR MORE IS THE PROSPECT OF OUR BEING DEFEATED ON THE ISSUE AFTER HAVING COMMITTED OUR PRESTIGE TO IT.

4. IN OUR VIEW WE OUGHT TO PULL OUT ALL THE STOPS. BILL BUFFUM AND HIS PEOPLE ALREADY KOWN WHERE THE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED VOTES ARE AND COULD, I BELIEVE, CRANK UP CAREFULLY TAILORED ACTION PLANS FOR INFLUENCING EACH OF THEM. WE HAVE IN MIND PERSONAL MESSAGES FROM THE SECRETARY, PERHAPS SOME OF THEM BY TELEPHONE, PLUS CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED REPRESENTATION HERE, IN WASHINGTON, AND IN CAPITALS. WE HARDLY NEED RECORD OUR VIEW THAT PERFORMANCE ON AN ISSUE OF SUCH IMPORTANCE TO US AND TO THE NORTHEAST ASIAN AREA SHOULD BE VIEWED IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

5. A PARTICULAR CONCERN IS AUSTRALIA. THE AUSTRALIAN DELEGATION WORKED WITH US TO SECURE PASSAGE OF THE RESOLUTION ON KOREA. THEY STROVE MIGHTILY ON PROCEDURAL ISSUES. TO THE SHAME OF THE AUSTRALIAN DELEGATION IT RECEIVED LAST MINUTE INSTRUCTIONS DIRECTLY FROM WHITLAM TO ABSTAIN ON THE HOSTILE RESOLUTION. THIS WAS A BOMBSHELL THAT SOME OBSERVERS THINK MAY HAVE MOVED AS MANY AS FIVE COUNTRIES FROM THE NO COLUMN TO THE ABSTENTION COLUMN ON THE HOSTILE RESOLUTION. IN EFFECT THE AUSTRALIANS MAY BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FACT THAT THE HOSTILE RESOLUTION MADE A BETTER SCORE THAN OURS. SOME DELEGATIONS WERE TOLD HERE BY THE NORTH KOREANS THAT THEY HAD TOLD CANBERRA THEY WOULD BREAK RELATIONS IF CANBERRA VOTED NO. IRONICALLY, WE ARE TOLD THE NORTH KOREANS HAVE WITHDRAWN THEIR EMBASSY FROM CANBERRA ANYWAY. IN ANY CASE, THE EVIDENCE IS THAT FIFTEEN MILLION NORTH KOREANS PUSHED AROUND A PROUD, DEVELOPED COUNTRY ALLIED TO THE US IN A MUTUAL DEFENSE AGREEMENT. WE THINK IT LIKELY THAT ALLEGATIONS TO THIS EFFECT WILL REACH THE PRESS. WE SUSPECT THAT IF SUCH STORIES REACH THE AUSTRALIAN PUBLIC THEY WOULD NOT GO DOWN WELL. AN EARLY AUSTRALIAN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT IT HAS DECIDED TO DEFEND ITS PRINCIPLES DESPITE THE DPRK BLACKMAIL EFFORT WOULD HAVE VERY DESIRABLE EFFECTS IN NEW YORK.

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